

## Message Text

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43

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PM-03 DODE-00 DRC-01 /052 W

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P R 051745Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4266

INFO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAN SALVADOR 4536

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HO, ES

SUBJ: HONDURAS/EL SALVADOR; FOREIGN MINISTER ASKS U.S.

ASSISTANCE IN KEEPING DIALOGUE OPEN

REF: SAN SALVADOR 4481

USCINCSO FOR POLAD

1. I SPOKE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BORGONOVO AFTERNOON ON DECEMBER 4 ON ANOTHER MATTER BUT TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW-UP ON OUR CONVERSATION LAST WEEK ON THE TALKS WITH HONDURAS. AS REPORTED EARLIER (REFTEL), BORGONOVO HAD INSTRUCTED THE SALVADORAN DELEGATION TO EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR THE GOES DENUNCIATION OF THE PACT OF BOGOTA. HE SAID THE HONDURAN REPRESENTATIVES SEEMED TO ACCEPT THE EXPLANATION. HOWEVER, NEITHER SIDE BELIEVES THAT THE TALKS CAN BE COMPLETED BY DECEMBER 15 AND THE SALVADORAN DELEGATION HAS REQUESTED THE HONDURANS TO CONSIDER AN EXTENSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BEYOND THAT TIME. ACCORDING TO BORGONOVO, THE HONDURANS SEEM RELUCTANT TO ACCEDE TO THIS

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REQUEST BUT HE IS STILL AWAITING A FINAL RESPONSE DURING THE

FOURTH STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS (DECEMBER 10-15). THEREFORE, BORGONOVO ASKED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DO WHATEVER IT DEEMS APPROPRIATE AND USEFUL TO ENCOURAGE THE GOH TO ACCEPT CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER BEYOND DECEMBER 15.

2. COMMENT: IN DISCUSSING HIS EXTENSION PROPOSAL, BORGONOVO WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER HE ENVISIONED A CONTINUATION OF THE CURRENT MEETINGS OR SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS AFTER DECEMBER 15, PERHAPS UNTIL AFTER THE MARCH 1974 ELECTIONS HERE. I WILL TRY TO CLARIFY THIS POINT. AS EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK HAVE DEMONSTRATED, EL SALVADOR IS FIRM IN ITS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION AS A MEANS OF SETTling THE BORDER QUESTION, THUS LEAVING BI-LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS THE ONLY VIABLE COURSE.

3. SHOULD THE GOH ADHERE STRICTLY TO THE DECEMBER 15 DEADLINE AND TERMINATE THE BI-LATERAL TALKS AT THAT POINT, THERE APPEAR TWO COURSES OPEN TO IT: (A) DROP ALL EFFORTS AT SETTLEMENT AND RECONCILE ITSELF TO LIVING WITH AN UNRESOLVED DISPUTE AND INDEFINITE ESTRANGEMENT FROM ITS NEIGHBOR, OR (B) UNDERTAKE AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN BEFORE OAS AND WITHIN CENTRAL AMERICA TO BRING PRESSURE ON GOES TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION OR ADJUDICATION OF THE DISPUTED BOUNDARY. SALVADOR COULD EASILY ADJUST TO THE FORMER COURSE, BUT THIS WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE RESTRUCTURING OF A FIVE-COUNTRY CACM SINCE HONDURAS HAS WARNED THAT IT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE UNLESS IT SETTLES ITS DISPUTE WITH EL SALVADOR. IF THE GOH ADOPTS THE LATTER COURSE, EL SALVADOR COULD NOT LONG RESIST BEING PROVOKED INTO RESPONDING IN KIND. WE COULD EXPECT TO WITNESS A DETERIORATING SITUATION OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS, RESURRECTION OF CLAIMS AND COUNTER-CLAIMS ABOUT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND AGGRESSION, DEMANDS FOR REPARATION, ETC. BOTH SIDES WOULD WRAP THEMSELVES EVEN MORE TIGHTLY IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FLAGS AS THEIR POSITIONS HARDEN. TENSIONS WOULD INCREASE. NATIONALISTIC PASSIONS WOULD BE AROUSED AND THE PROSPECT OF BORDER INCIDENTS LEADING TO RENEWED ARMED CONFLICT WOULD BE VERY MUCH IN THE OFFING. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, EFFORTS TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES TOGETHER WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

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4. AS EVENTS LAST WEEK DEMONSTRATED, THE STATE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS IS A VERY DELICATE ONE INDEED; LITTLE IS NEEDED TO FAN SUSPICION QUICKLY AND AROUSE DISTRUST OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE OTHER SIDE TO THE POINT OF RENEWED CONFRONTATION. THEREFORE, IT WOULD SEEM TO BE IN OUR INTEREST TO DO WHAT WE CAN OURSELVES TO KEEP THE DIALOGUE OPEN BETWEEN THE TWO, BE IT AT MEXICO OR THROUGH OTHER LESS FORMAL CHANNELS, OR PERHAPS BY ENCOURAGING SOMOZA AND/OR

ARANA TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE.  
MOSKOWITZ

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, BOUNDARY DETERMINATION, NEGOTIATIONS, BORDER CONTROLS, MEETINGS, BOGOTA PACT, INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 DEC 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** smithrj  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, HO, ES  
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